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minute local knowledge which contributed so much to that work is wanting in the present case, there are other good grounds of commendation.

Of the twelve chapters in the book, three trace the origin and the English life of the Pilgrims, and are illustrated with attractive views from original drawings; three treat more briefly of the Dutch life of the same company; three sketch more briefly still the first seven years in Plymouth; and the concluding section summarizes the later immigrations to New England and its entire colonial history.

The author has a clear, readable style, and is in full sympathy with his subject; he has taken pains to gather incidental illustrations from the state papers and other manuscript sources in England; there was room for a volume covering this ground, especially one designed (as this is primarily) for English rather than American readers; and the result deserves to win popular approval. The specialist, however, should be warned not to expect to gain anything of importance that is new to him from Dr. Brown's narrative. The English and in a less degree the Dutch life of the Pilgrims, especially as reflected in Bradford's History, is skilfully portrayed, with such freshness as to make a new impression on the reader, though the details are familiar; the cisatlantic part of the story is naturally less fresh and less successful. The author makes perhaps too much of the supposed evidence for Congregationalism in England before Robert Browne, but otherwise his historical narrative is faithful to the facts as known. Taking Bradford's History as his text for the Leyden residence of the Pilgrims, he has no temptation to magnify the Dutch influence on their life and polity; for Bradford, an observer not wanting in keenness, is plainly unconscious — writing years afterwards — of such influence beyond the narrowest limits.

The account of Scrooby and Austerfield and of the beginnings of the Pilgrim Church, and the analysis of Robinson's writings, interest Dr. Brown most and show him at his best; but there is not a dull chapter in the book. It is curious that, although the story of Robinson's Farewell Address to the Mayflower Company is fully given from Winslow's notes, no comment is made on the most notable sentence of that report (that "the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy word"), the obvious meaning of which has been so stoutly denied; but this is an instance of the general truth that the book avoids points of controversy, and is constructed throughout on the most conservative lines.

*The Pioneers of New France in New England*, with Contemporary Letters and Documents. By JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER. (Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1894. Pp. 450.)

UNDER this somewhat misleading title, Mr. Baxter deals with the relations of Massachusetts and the Indians in and about Norridgewock, in what is now the state of Maine. The central figure in his monograph is Sebastien Rale, or Ralé, as he prints the name in opposition to all the best authorities.

Francis, Palfrey, and Winsor call the Jesuit Rasle; Shea, in the text of Charlevoix, has Rasle, and in his foot-notes, Rale, which is the form adopted by Parkman, whose opinion on any question relating to the French in North America must be regarded as little, if in any degree, less than conclusive. Referring to this matter, Parkman says that the name was so written by the missionary himself, "in an autograph letter of 18 Nov., 1712," and adds, "It is also spelled Rasle, Rasles, Ralle, and very incorrectly Rallé, or Rallee." In view of this general concurrence of the writers in English of our own time, and of the adoption of the form Rale by the highest French authority, the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Mr. Baxter's reasons for adopting an unfamiliar form do not appear satisfactory.

It was not to be expected that he would be able to discover any important facts which had escaped the eager eyes of his diligent predecessors, or to set in a new light the transactions of the gloomy and bloody period of which he writes; but he has carefully studied the original sources of information, and has brought together a large mass of documentary material hitherto not easily accessible. It is in the latter service that the chief value of his labors is found. Some of these documents are inserted in the text, as the letters from Rale to his nephew and his brother; and others are given in the appendix, which extends to nearly one hundred and thirty pages. Of the documents there given the most important is a collection preserved in the Public Record Office in London, under the general designation of "Thirty-one Papers produced by Mr. Dummer, in Proof of the Right of the Crown of Great Britain to the Lands between New England and Nova Scotia, and of Several Depredations Committed by the French and Indians between 1720 and June, 1725." Among the documents from this source are a report of the conference with the Kennebec Indians in November, 1720; the correspondence between Vaudreuil and Dummer in 1723 and 1724; the journal of the Commissioners to Canada in 1725, and other papers connected with their mission, including a narrative of Samuel Jordan, the Indian interpreter. There are also in the appendix other illustrative documents from various sources, of which the most important are Hamilton's account of his captivity among the Indians and in Canada, and the Latin text of Joseph Baxter's two letters to Rale. It is to be regretted that there is not, for the convenience of students, an analytical table of contents to the monograph, and that there is not a complete list of the documents in the appendix. There is, however, a very full index, but it is poorly arranged, and is sometimes inaccurate and misleading. The proof sheets have not been carefully corrected; and both in the body of the work and in the index there are a considerable number of typographical errors, while there are repeated instances of the careless use or omission of the marks of quotation. It is not easy to determine whether the author or the printer is responsible for these errors and defects, but probably both are at fault.

In describing the events and transactions with which he has to deal, Mr. Baxter looks at them all from the extreme point of view of the English

settlers and the Massachusetts authorities, to whom he thinks justice has not been done by some recent writers. As respects the conflicting claims of the French and the English in regard to the imperfectly defined boundary of Acadia, it cannot, we think, be successfully denied that the English were right, and that after the Treaty of Utrecht the French were trespassers. But the case in regard to the Indian villages is quite different. Here civilization and semi-civilization were brought face to face ; an agricultural and trading people and tribes of improvident hunters and fishers confronted each other. Their ideas of property in land were impossible to be reconciled. To the English settler separate and exclusive ownership, except as regards the common lands for pasturage, was a necessity. The value of his property was destroyed if savage hunters and their dogs could pursue the game across fields and meadows. As the tide of civilization advanced from the coast and the river-banks, the hunters were naturally forced backward to the denser woods and less frequented streams where game and the fur-bearing animals sought shelter. This was something which the Indian had not foreseen. He had no idea of individual ownership of hunting grounds ; and it may well be doubted whether any Indian ever had an exclusive right to the land which he was supposed to convey by a strange hieroglyphic on a parchment deed which he could not read or understand. Here was an inexhaustible source of conflict and war.

Added to this was the antagonism of Romanism and Protestantism. The French missionaries had been signally successful in impressing the savage imagination, and they cherished their converts as spiritual children whom they had redeemed from destruction. On the other hand to the average English settler a Jesuit missionary was little better than an emissary from the Evil One. Rale and his associates were Frenchmen eager to hold territory which they regarded as rightfully belonging to France, and Jesuits determined that their converts should not be drawn away from the true faith. In both French and English, national animosities and religious bigotry found a congenial resting-place. An irrepressible conflict was the inevitable result, one in which both parties were almost certain to go to extremes which the calmer judgment of a later generation must condemn. It is not enough for an historian, in dealing with the conflicts of a stormy past, to put himself in the place of one of the contending parties or nations. He should remember that there are always two sides, at least, to every question, and that there are as many points of view. He should not fail to make large allowance for the spirit of the age about which he is writing ; but he should not fail to recognize every departure of the actors from their own avowed principles, and to remember also that there are underlying principles which are the common standard for every civilized age. To these considerations Mr. Baxter has not, we think, given sufficient weight. His narrative is full and exact. He has added nothing and has suppressed nothing ; but he has felt too strongly to do entire justice to the losing side. We rejoice with him that the French were driven out of Maine, and that the Indian frontier was steadily pushed back ; but we

would at the same time frankly recognize the patriotic and religious scruples of the French and the lingering regret with which the Indians retreated from their old hunting grounds.

CHARLES C. SMITH.

*Le Comte de Frontenac. Étude sur le Canada Français à la Fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par HENRI LORIN, ancien élève de l'École Normale Supérieure, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie. 1895. Pp. xiv, 502.)

HITHERTO the history of French Canada has attracted very little attention in France. Only two of Parkman's works have been translated into French, and these two — *The Pioneers of France in the New World* and *The Jesuits in North America* — are precisely those of which the interest is least confined to America. M. Lorin's work is welcome as an adequate history of a Canadian epoch by a Frenchman.

Frontenac ruled in Canada at a critical time. The country had the twofold character of a trading-post and of a mission until 1663, when it was made a royal province with a system of government upon the model of one of the French *pays d'élection*. A multiplicity of problems faced Frontenac when he went out in 1672. He was to adjust the relations between the civil and the ecclesiastical power, to make alliances with the Indians, to check the English, and to extend French rule into the far interior. Frontenac showed great tact in dealing with the Indians. His dignified reserve led them to think a few words with him a great honor. He was at his best when, as representing Louis XIV., he talked like a father to them and to the *habitans*, and both of these classes honored him to the last. He was at his worst when his arrogant and quarrelsome spirit led him to take extreme measures to assert his dignity.

M. Lorin thinks that Frontenac was in the right in his conflict with ecclesiastical authority. The dispute vitally concerned French policy in America. The Jesuits opposed the traffic in brandy, for it was destroying the Indians, who had learned to nerve themselves with it for their murderous combats, and would sell their wives and children to get it. Behind this attempt to save the Indians was the further plan to isolate them from contact with Europeans. The Jesuit, anxious to retain sole control over the Indians, discouraged efforts to teach them French. Frontenac on the other hand wished to form settlements in which the two races should mingle freely. Colbert had a vast scheme of French empire in America. The French were the first race to penetrate to the interior, and trading-posts were to follow in the wake of discovery. The secular view of the brandy question was that the Indians were bound to get it and to give what furs they had for it. So extended was its use that it was actually at one time the medium of exchange, and the defenders of the trade had a theological retort for the missionaries. It was better that the Indians should get brandy alone from the French than both brandy and heresy from the English (p. 431) !